

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 141940  
ORIGIN AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05  
H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 HA-05  
AID-05 EB-08 OMB-01 COME-00 TRSE-00 ICAE-00  
NSCE-00 INRE-00 SSO-00 /092 R

DRAFTED BY AF/S: JDAVIDOW:GFH  
APPROVED BY AF:RMOOSE  
AF: DPETTERSON (DRAFT)  
AF/S:DKEOGH

-----079710 060106Z /63

O P 052333Z JUN 78  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO OAU COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE  
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA PRIORITY  
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY ROME PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 141940

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PDEV, RH, US, UK

SUBJECT: RHODESIA: APPROACH TO HOST GOVERNMENTS

1. BRITISH HAVE SUGGESTED AND WE HAVE AGREED THAT  
WE HAVE REACHED POINT IN RHODESIA NEGOTIATIONS WHERE  
GENERAL BRIEFING OF AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS WOULD BE HELP-  
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FUL. IN PARTICULAR, BRITISH ARE ANXIOUS TO FORESTALL  
ANY ACTION BY OAU LIBERATION COMMITTEE OR AT OAU FOREIGN  
MINISTERS AND HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETINGS IN KHARTOUM  
IN JULY WHICH WOULD SEEM TO COMMIT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT OR  
THEIR SUPPORTERS TO UNCONDITIONAL SUPPORT OF WAR AS THE ONLY  
MEANS OF LIBERATION. WE AND THE BRITISH HAVE VERY MUCH  
IN MIND PASSAGE OF A RESOLUTION AT LAST YEAR'S OAU SUMMIT

IN LIBREVILLE WHICH MANY AFRICAN STATES BELIEVE CONFERRED EXCLUSIVE POLITICAL SUPPORT UPON THE PATRIOTIC FRONT. THOUGH THAT RESOLUTION IS OPEN TO INTERPRETATION, IT NEVERTHELESS COMPLICATED OUR NEGOTIATING EFFORT WHICH SEEKS TO GIVE ALL OF THE CONTENDING NATIONALIST FORCES AN EQUAL OPPORTUNITY TO WIN POLITICAL POWER IN ZIMBABWE THROUGH THE BALLOT BOX.

2. THE NATURE OF THE APPROACH TO THE HOST GOVERNMENT IS LEFT TO THE DISCRETION OF CHIEFS OF MISSION AND SHOULD, OF COURSE, DEPEND ON LOCAL CIRCUMSTANCES. IN ALL CASES WHERE BRITISH ARE REPRESENTED, EMBASSIES SHOULD CONCERT ACTIONS WITH BRITISH COLLEAGUES. UK REPRESENTATIVE SHOULD TAKE THE LEAD WITH US COLLEAGUE GIVING APPROPRIATE ASSISTANCE - E.G. JOINT OR FOLLOW-UP APPROACHES OR INFORMAL SUPPORT. PRESENTATIONS SHOULD BE AT FOREIGN MINISTER LEVEL OR BELOW AND BE LOW KEY IN TONE. BRITISH HAVE ALSO ASKED FRENCH, GERMANS AND ITALIANS TO BE AWARE OF APPROACH AND, IF POSSIBLE, TO EXPRESS SUPPORT FOR CONTINUED ANGLO-AMERICAN EFFORT. THE FOLLOWING ARE THE AGREED UK-US TALKING POINTS WHICH SHOULD BE DRAWN UPON.

(I) THE SITUATION IN RHODESIA IS DANGEROUSLY POISED FOR A MAJOR INCREASE IN THE VIOLENCE OF THE WAR. WE BELIEVE THAT AN ALL-OUT WAR, WHETHER BETWEEN THE  
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NATIONALISTS AND THE ILLEGAL MINORITY REGIME, OR, EVEN WORSE, AMONG THE NATIONALISTS THEMSELVES, COULD HAVE THE MOST GRAVE CONSEQUENCES FOR THE WHOLE OF AFRICA, AND PARTICULARLY FOR THE STABILITY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF COUNTRIES IN THE REGION. THERE WOULD ALSO BE A REAL DANGER OF INTERNATIONALIZING THE CONFLICT.

(II) SUCH A WAR WILL NO DOUBT ACHIEVE INDEPENDENCE IN THE END, BUT AT A TERRIBLE COST IN SUFFERING AND DESTRUCTION.

(III) AS OUR MAINTENANCE OF SANCTIONS SHOWS, WE ARE OPPOSED TO THE SMITH REGIME. OUR AIM IS TO BRING RHODESIA AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE TO MAJORITY RULE AND INDEPENDENCE. WE BELIEVE THIS CAN BE DONE WITHIN THIS YEAR ON THE BASIS OF THE PRINCIPLES WE HAVE PROPOSED FOR A SETTLEMENT. WE HAVE MADE IT ABSOLUTELY CLEAR THAT WE REGARD THE SO-CALLED SALISBURY AGREEMENT AS SERIOUSLY DEFECTIVE AS A BASIS FOR A SETTLEMENT, AND HAVE GIVEN IT NO SUPPORT WHATSOEVER.

(IV) THE ANGLO/US PROPOSALS REPRESENT IN OUR VIEW THE

FAIREST BASIS FOR A LASTING SETTLEMENT. THEY AIM TO BRING ABOUT A GENUINE TRANSFER OF POWER TO THE MAJORITY WHILE ASSUMING LONG TERM STABILITY, A RETURN TO ECONOMIC PROSPERITY, AND A PROMISING FUTURE FOR ALL ZIMBABWIANS. THE CENTRAL ELEMENTS, AS IS WELL KNOWN BY NOW, ARE A SURRENDER OF POWER BY THE REGIME, AN IMPARTIAL TRANSITIONAL PERIOD (NOT EXCEEDING 6 MONTHS), THE PRESENCE OF A U.N. FORCE, AND THE HOLDING OF FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS ON THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE TO ELECT THE INDEPENDENCE GOVERNMENT.

(V) THERE IS WIDESPREAD SUPPORT IN AFRICA FOR THE ANGLO-US PROPOSALS. THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS ARE SOLIDLY BEHIND THEM AND SUPPORT OUR PROPOSAL FOR ROUND  
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TABLE TALKS INVOLVING ALL THE PARTIES.

(VI) WE HAVE BEEN IN NEGOTIATION WITH ALL THE PARTIES ON THE BASIS OF THE ANGLO/US PROPOSALS SINCE THEIR PUBLICATION. OUR PROPOSALS HAVE BEEN REFINED SINCE THE SUBSTANTIVE TALKS WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT IN MALTA IN LATE JANUARY. WE ARE NEGOTIATING SERIOUSLY, AND WHERE THAT IS ACCEPTABLE TO ALL PARTIES WE ARE PREPARED TO MODIFY CERTAIN AREAS OF OUR PROPOSALS, IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE GENERAL AGREEMENT, BUT WE ARE NOT PREPARED TO

SACRIFICE ESSENTIAL PRINCIPLES OR THE IMPARTIALITY OF THE PROPOSALS. THE DIFFERENCES WHICH CURRENTLY EXIST AMONG THE PARTIES CAN BEST BE RESOLVED IN DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE PARTIES, PROPERLY PREPARED.

(VII) THOUGH THE REACTION OF THE PARTIES TO THE SALISBURY AGREEMENT TO OUR PROPOSAL FOR ROUND TABLE TALKS WAS NEGATIVE, THEY HAVE NOT CLOSED THE DOOR TO SUCH NEGOTIATIONS IN THE FUTURE. WHILE THEY STRESS THE NEED TO MAKE THEIR OWN AGREEMENT WORK, THEY ARE CONSCIOUS OF THE NEED FOR INTERNATIONAL ACCEPTANCE AND FOR THE REMOVAL OF SANCTIONS, AND WE BELIEVE THEY ACCEPT THAT ROUND TABLE TALKS WILL BE INEVITABLE AT SOME STAGE. THE LONGER THEY ARE PUT OFF, CLEARLY, THE GREATER THE LOSS OF LIFE.

(VIII) WE ARE THEREFORE PRESSING AHEAD: MR. GRAHAM AND AMBASSADOR LOW HAVE BEGUN A JOINT LOW-KEY MISSION TO AFRICA TO CARRY OUT THE CAREFUL PREPARATORY WORK REQUIRED TO BRING ABOUT SUCCESSFUL ROUND-TABLE TALKS.

(IX) WE DO NOT PRETEND THAT WE ARE ASSURED OF SUCCESS.  
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BUT THE ATTITUDE AND SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY OF THE OAU AT THIS CRUCIAL JUNCTURE COULD HAVE A GREAT INFLUENCE FOR PEACE. WE RECOGNIZE THE NEED TO MAINTAIN PRESSURE ON THE ILLEGAL REGIME, AND ALTHOUGH WE ABHOR VIOLENCE WE DO NOT ASK THE OAU TO ABANDON ITS SUPPORT FOR THE MILITARY EFFORTS OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT. NEVERTHELESS, WE BELIEVE THAT ALL THE PARTIES SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED TO NEGOTIATE. WE HOPE THAT THE LIBERATION COMMITTEE AND THE OAU MEETINGS IN JULY WILL NOTE OUR SINCERE EFFORTS TO SPEED THE PROCESS OF ACHIEVING GENUINE MAJORITY RULE, WILL ENDORSE OUR PROPOSAL FOR ROUND TABLE TALKS, AND SO HELP TO BRING ALL THE PARTIES TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE. VANCE

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DRAFTED BY AF/S:DKEOGH:ML

APPROVED BY AF:DPETTERSON

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY BRAZZAVILLE IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 141940

FOL RPT STATE 141940 ACTION OAU COLLECTIVE INFO LONDON  
USUN NEW YORK PRETORIA CAPE TOWN PARIS BONN ROME OTTAWA 5 JUN 78  
QUOTE

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UNQUOTE VANCE

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## Message Attributes

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**Draft Date:** 05 jun 1978  
**Decaption Date:** 01 jan 1960  
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**Status:** NATIVE  
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**TAGS:** PDEV, PORG, PINT, RH, US, UK  
**To:** OAU COLLECTIVE  
**Type:** TE  
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**Review Markings:**  
Sheryl P. Walter  
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20 Mar 2014  
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